ASIA IN FOCUS

ISSUE 4 · 2017

ASIA IN
FOCUS

Asia in Focus is a peer-reviewed journal published online twice a year by NIAS - Nordic Institute of Asian Studies. NIAS is a Nordic research and service institute focusing on Asia's modern transformations. Asia in Focus was initiated by NIAS to provide Master students and Ph.D. students affiliated to a Nordic institution a widely accessible and transnational forum to publish their findings. The focal point of the journal is modern Asian societies viewed from the standpoints of the social science and the humanities. The geographical focus is the Asian countries from Central Asia to Oceania excluding Australia and New Zealand.

Asia in Focus Editorial Committee	Nicol Foulkes Savinetti (Managing Editor), *NIAS – Nordic Institute of Asian Studies* Inga-Lill Blomkvist, *NIAS – Nordic Institute of Asian Studies* Christer Kold Lindholm, *University of Copenhagen* Julia Kirch Kirkegaard, *Technical University of Denmark (DTU)* Nis Grünberg, *Copenhagen Business School and Sino-Danish Center* Kitt Plinia Nielsen, *University of Copenhagen* Emmanuel Raju, *University of Copenhagen* Mai Corlin, *Aarhus University* Emilija Zabiliute, *University of Copenhagen* Bonn Juego, *University of Jyväskylä* Kenneth Bo Nielsen, *University of Bergen*
	While the editorial committee is responsible for the final selection of content for Asia in Focus, the responsibility for the opinions expressed and the accuracy of the facts published in articles rest solely with the authors.
Publisher	NIAS - Nordic Institute of Asian Studies
Graphic Design	Dennis Müller
Copyright	Authors & NIAS. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced without the written permission from the authors.
Journal Website	www.asiainfocus.dk
ISSN	2446-0001
Contact	NIAS - Nordic Institute of Asian Studies Øster Farimagsgade 5 DK-1353 Copenhagen K Denmark asiainfocus@nias.ku.dk www.nias.ku.dk

Contents

Publishing with Asia in Focus:
Insights and Advice from the Editors

THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

We, the Editorial Committee, have been giving some thought as to the meaning of *Asia in Focus*. From the side of our contributors, we have considered: What are the opportunities presented for early-career researchers? How can publishing with us benefit them? From the editorial side, we have pondered: Why are we editors here? What are our concerns about the submissions we receive? What are the highlights during the review process? What further advice can we give to our contributors and readers? Instead of keeping the answers to these questions to ourselves, we would like to share, as we view the responses as useful knowledge that may further assist early-career researchers in their academic careers as well as inform a wider public of the situation scholars are in.

The advantages of publishing with *Asia in Focus*

Asia in Focus occupies an important niche in the broader landscape of peer reviewed academic publishing insofar as it offers good MA students and PhD candidates the chance to publish shorter pieces based on their ongoing work, without compromising on quality. Peer-review and academic publishing are essential parts of scholarly and scientific knowledge dissemination. This is how we as academics share our knowledge with our colleagues and the general public, and how we make sure that the knowledge we share is reliable and not misleading.

Many of the original and interesting ideas students develop in their MA theses are genuinely interesting reads, and their publication can add an extra layer to the authors' experience of the "use" of their studies. However, there are not enough outlets for early career academics; that is, those who are not yet fully established and/or trained as such as what in other countries is requirement – the actual publication of ones work during an MA program – is still neglected in Denmark among other countries. Going through the process of submitting a paper and experiencing peer review (whether the paper gets published or not) is a valuable exercise to test whether or not scientific writing is something a student would like to pursue. For MA students, *Asia in Focus* may be the first encounter with the peer review process and academic publishing, and we make an effort to make this encounter somewhat less intimidating than it otherwise can be.

PhD candidates on the other hand often aim for highly ranked journals with a global reach when they publish. Nonetheless, smaller journals like Asia in Focus have great advantages: they provide a good forum for testing out new ideas, for articulating new arguments-in-the-making and, as previous

contributor Arve Hansen (who published in Issue 2) highlights in his feedback below, the readership of the papers is potentially greatly expanded because of the open source format:

A couple of years ago I was fortunate enough to get a paper published in Asia in Focus. I would like to share some thoughts on why other early-career scholars should try to do the same.

For Master students, the opportunity to publish part of their work in an accessible yet highly professional journal is quite unique. For PhD candidates the situation is a bit different, particularly as more and more PhD theses are comprised of published articles. Writing an additional article for a journal that does not give publishing points (although it is peer-reviewed) might not seem worth the effort. Well, I am ready to argue otherwise!

I decided to write an article for Asia in Focus in the middle of a hectic writing period. Academic articles must be concise, and I think most PhD candidates writing publication based theses will experience having to leave out lots of material. I certainly did, and since I had some additional thoughts and data that I really wanted to share, I based my article for Asia in Focus around these. After a thorough round of peer review, the article was published. And that is when I realized that publishing in this journal was an even better choice than I first had thought.

As researchers we want to get our stuff out there and beyond the narrow academic reader base most of us manage to attract. But academic journals are extremely expensive for anyone who is not lucky enough to have access through their institution. And most people on earth do not have such access. Even most academics in the world have limited access to journals. Writing in a serious open access journal can thus potentially reach many people who would otherwise not be able to read our work.

In addition, the short and accessible format of Asia in Focus articles makes them accessible for non-academics as well. In my case, the result was that **the most read and shared article I wrote during my PhD is the one published in Asia in Focus**. *This is probably much thanks to journalists linking to it in newspaper articles, something they would very rarely do with standard academic articles (which, let's face it, they wouldn't even read). And, although I of course want people to read my other stuff as well, I think academics will find that work through the references to it in the article published in Asia in Focus.*

In other words, submit an article to Asia in Focus and get your work out there!

Arve Hansen
Centre for Development and the Environment University of Oslo
arve.hansen@sum.uio.no

We view *Asia in Focus* as part of the future. As Arve Hansen succinctly points to above, the numbers of readers are markedly higher in readily accessible media such as professional blogs, open access paper sites, in books that do not cost upwards of 100 USD and outlets such as *Asia in Focus*. We have the opportunity to contribute to academic knowledge and debate in a much more vibrant, accessible, and

democratic fashion than the increasingly corporatized and high access-barrier environment of prestigious journals and publishers allow for.

Key concerns and challenges with submissions

The length of the articles published in *Asia in Focus* sometimes poses a challenge to our authors. There are limits to what one can reasonably achieve in 3,500 words and so it becomes important not to over-promise, or to attempt too much. When reviewing an article for *Asia in Focus* our editors always check whether the arguments that are made are sufficiently substantiated by empirical material and well-grounded in theory. Perhaps the most frequently stated piece of advice from our editorial team in light of the limitations in length is that **contributors should aim for one solidly anchored argument**, rather than trying to drive home multiple arguments that rest on thin empirical foundations. If authors have a lot on their mind, they are of course welcome to make multiple submissions to Asia in Focus!

Another challenge is related to the papers' contributions to the scholarly field. For many early-career researchers it can be challenging to **clearly spell out their scientific contribution**. While some may simply not have read widely enough to recognize their contribution, others might feel their paper is too conventional and repeats the findings of famous studies done by experienced scholars. To avoid these situations is easy when you know how, but it requires work. **Every academic article should have a section that reviews the most relevant literature in the field, and its main findings**. This is known as defining the state-of-the-art. Once this is done, it is usually easier to identify and specify one's own contributions, differences and similarities to the studies that have been done previously. Every study, whether Bachelor, Masters or PhD level, has something new and interesting. The novelty might lie in the research design and the hence findings, or in the different geographical area under study, or the informants, and so forth. We are knowledge producers and sharers and at Masters and PhD level, publications should, or rather must endeavor to have academic rigor and *contribute* to the field of study they fall within.

A further issue highlighted by our Editorial Team is the importance of having work proofread by a native speaker and writer of English (and always try to use a person with an academic background, preferably in your field). Language checking is a vital part of the writing process for any writer, whether they are a native speaker or not. When we write, we are highly focused on content and less focused on correct grammar, sentence structure, spelling and such … and so we should be! However, if we would like *other* people to read our work, then these aspects must be given attention because **language editing is about improving the readability of a paper, it is about making your message as clear and comprehensible as it can possibly be.** If a reviewer cannot understand or, even worse, misunderstands and misinterprets something you have written because of poor grammar for instance, your exciting, valuable and brilliant contribution to the field may never see print. In spite of stating in our guidelines that papers must have been proofread before they are submitted, we continue to receive many submissions that have very clearly not been checked and corrected which is worrying. We cannot emphasize enough how important a thorough language check is for your chances of getting published and for your future career. As one editor wrote:

> My biggest frustration in the review process is to eventually reject a very important piece of research just because it is not written and framed with the consistency and coherence required in an academic publication.

Often authors have become so intimate with their work that they forget the person at the receiving end – the reader. Even if the reader is familiar with the literature and the theoretical discussions presented in a

text, they have hopefully not been exposed to its chief argument before. A reader is not inside the author's mind, and cannot follow his/her thoughts without proper aid. Authors therefore should be very focused on taking the reader by the hand, and gently leading them through the argument of their text. This is another reason to stick to the 'one point, one paper' approach: clearly state the single most compelling argument or problem that ties the entire paper together. The focus of the study, the methods of data collection and analysis, the theoretical underpinnings and implications should be blatantly clear and the analysis and conclusions based thereon should be convincing. Our advice: follow the basic instructions given in the Style Guide and the formal requirements on the Call for Papers. Ultimately, these sections have purpose and they all help to communicate your research in the most reliable, understandable and comprehensive manner.

Lastly, one of the worst frustrations for any editor is when we have a well-grounded suspicion of plagiarism. **Plagiarism is unacceptable and something which must be avoided and circumvented under all circumstances**, which is why reference systems were invented. Previous research is there to be used, and as our careers progress we find different and increasingly sophisticated ways of presenting other people's findings and ideas in our own work but always with a reference to the source. If there is no reference, then a reader is falsely led to believe that these are the author's words and ideas; this single act puts into question the author's credibility and ethics, and completely undermines the entire research field.

Being on the *Asia in Focus* Editorial Committee

In general, being on the Editorial Committee and being exposed to such a wide range of exciting and interesting work, getting familiar with brand new research, reading about well-documented fieldwork from new and known geographical areas inspires us. We are inspired by the enthusiasm and diligence with which authors pursue their research, by the wealth of talent there is out there, and we also get inspired to learn more about a given topic, method or theoretical approach we may be introduced to or reminded of.

The receipt of the paper is in a sense the beginning of a relationship – a relationship between members of the review team and between the Editorial Committee and the author. The process of giving and receiving feedback on a piece of research is an essential integrated aspect of the serious task of knowledge production and dissemination, and makes for a more purpose-driven and meaningful academy.

These are times of great uncertainty and the pressure to perform is immense: pressure from outside and also the pressure we put on ourselves, and so becoming or being a budding scholar is far from easy. That said, we want to encourage you to believe in yourselves, to work hard, and to keep at it. There will be times when your receive feedback that may seem highly critical and harsh, and other times it will be more palatable and easier to digest. No matter how it is received and perceived, take all of it on board and use it constructively. In the end, as scholars it is our duty to contribute to society as a whole by producing solid, reliable, well-grounded knowledge, and the feedback and critique we receive greatly assists the production process.

We look forward to reading your work!
The Editorial Committee

From Communal War to Peaceful Coexistence:
The Influence of Adat Culture in North Maluku, Indonesia

MARTIN BJÖRKHAGEN

This article examines how adat culture influenced peace-building and reconciliation efforts in North Maluku Province (NMP), Indonesia. This province was plagued by communal conflict from 1999 to 2000 following the fall of President Suharto's regime. Nonetheless, NMP stands out as a rare success story for its comparatively quick consolidation of peace and its bottom–up efforts to reconcile the community, which was divided along ethno-religious lines. In-depth interviews were conducted with local elite and expert actors, and the Reality Check Approach (RCA) was used to explore the emic perspective of villagers at the grassroots level. An important key to the successful peace-building was that both the elite actors in regency government and most people at the grassroots level were united in their efforts to use a reinvigorated adat culture to reconcile the communities. In addition, minority groups and migrants were largely included and standard top-down attempts at reconciliation were absent, as most international organisations also promoted the local initiatives. The level of reconciliation does not, however, extend further than peaceful coexistence, partly because issues of culpability remain taboo in NMP. To achieve thorough reconciliation, the former conflicting parties would need to assume responsibility for wrongdoing and follow it up with forgiveness.

Keywords: Peace-building, reconciliation, Adat, North Maluku Province, Reality Check Approach

Under President Suharto's regime (1967–1998), any resistance within Indonesia was swiftly met with the iron fist of the military. Consequently, tensions simmered or remained dormant until the fall of the autocracy (Brown, Wilson, & Hadi, 2005). With Suharto out, Indonesia inaugurated a highly ambitious reform and democratisation (Wilson, 2015); on the other hand, the reform process has also encountered significant resistance. In five provinces, large-scale violence erupted that pitted citizen against citizen. The most intense violence plagued the newly established North Maluku Province (NMP) (see Figure 1), with 3,257 killed from August 1999 until June 2000 (Barron et al., 2012, p.

Figure 1: North Maluku and Maluku provinces within the Moluccan archipelago (Lencer, 2013).

process, including political and economic decentralisation and major reforms of the judiciary, security forces, and corporate governance structures. On the one hand, these highly complex and extensive reforms have so far made considerable progress 10). This was *communal violence*, which is 'organised violence between non-state actors' (Öberg & Strøm, 2007, p. 3). Although this violence divided local society along ethno-religious lines, its roots and drivers were more multi-faceted and often involved

economic and political elite incentives (see e.g., Bertrand, 2004; Van Klinken, 2008; Wilson, 2008). However, as Christopher Duncan (2014) notes, the grassroots perceived the violence as more linked to religious identity (i.e., Christian vs. Muslim). According to Brown, Wilson & Hadi (2005), both structural and proximate causes affected the conflict in NMP.

The structural causes included: firstly, a lack of strong state institutions to cope with and mediate conflict; secondly, severe horizontal inequalities between Christians and Muslims dating back to Dutch colonialism; Suharto's 'Islamic turn' in the last decade of his rule further contributed to rising tensions between the two communities and the gradual erosion of traditional social structures up to the

Figure 2: North Halmahera Regency in North Maluku Province (Tourism and Cultural Office North Halmahera Regency, 2014).

eruption of the violence is a third structural cause. The proximate causes included: firstly, swift decentralisation and democratisation policies, which meant that considerable funding was up for grabs in local elections, and this led to an increase in the incentive to mobilise along ethnic and religious lines among local elites; secondly, the 1997 Asian finan-

to corrupt local elites loyal to the GoI) eliminated much of the *uncertainty* and *fear* between Christians and Muslims. Some of the violence had indeed been triggered by a security dilemma resulting in pre-emptive attacks by both sides, which were convinced (often by rumours) of imminent attacks from their opponents (Wilson, 2008). In addition,

Figure 3. My interpreter and I are about to accompany some village women to their gardens to harvest vegetables during the reality check in the Tobelo area, where many people are subsistence farmers. The village and gardens are mixed between Muslims and Christians, though most other NMP villages are segregated by religion.

cial crisis, which exacerbated existing divides between several groups (Brown, Wilson & Hadi 2005).

National government incentives

Christopher Duncan contends that 'the Indonesian government never implemented any conflict resolution strategies in North Maluku' (2016, p. 464). However, Claire Smith (2014) stresses that the government of Indonesia (GoI) deserves some credit, as its illiberal security approach (e.g., imposing curfews, halting elections, and granting impunity

the provincial government provided an incentive for peace-building by releasing a statement that Tobelo Town would not become the capital of the future *North Halmahera Regency* (NHR) unless calm was restored and local government facilitated the safe return of internally displaced persons (IDPs) (Duncan, 2016, p. 464).

Exploring peace-building and reconciliation

Previous comparative studies have described NMP

as a rare success story for its rapid, yet still sustained, peace process, compared with the other provinces affected by communal violence, as mentioned above (Barron et al., 2012; Van Klinken, 2007). This article draws on data collected through fieldwork in NMP in 2015. As opposed to most previous research, this article analyses how, and to what extent, former divided communities have managed to reconcile in the aftermath of the communal war, NMP being treated as a single case. I do this by employing Bhargava's (2012) two notions of reconciliation, which will be further conceptualised below. Given the multiple negative social and economic impacts inherent in the conflict - development nexus (for a detailed discussion see World Bank, 2011, p. 4), peace-building and reconciliation deserve further attention. Reconciliation efforts in

local ethnic and cultural bonds (Duncan, 2009, p. 1078).

The reality check approach

To grasp why most people in NMP chose to actively or tacitly support the peace and reconciliation process, it is vital to include voices from the grassroots. Therefore, the Reality Check Approach (RCA) was adopted to explore this perspective. The core of RCA is field immersion during which a researcher stays in a household in the research area for around four days and nights. I selected the household and area using purposive sampling, as this was the most effective technique given the research design and time frame of the study. The criterion was that household members should have lived in the area throughout both the conflict and the peace-build-

Interview date	Pseudonym	Sex	Age	Religion	Occupation	Location
18.02.15	Ibrahim	M	34	Muslim	Journalist	Ternate
28.02.15	Wiwin	F	38	Muslim	Lecturer/ former INGO staff	Ternate
09.03.15	Emmanuel	M	68	Christian	Civil servant/one of the conflict leaders	Tobelo
10.03.15	Fikri	M	53	Muslim	Civil servant	Tobelo
29.03.15	Yosef	M	30	Christian	Entrepreneur	Ternate

Figure 4: In-depth interview schedule. Most interviewees are Muslim, mirroring NMP's majority Muslim population. Pseudonyms and general descriptions of the interviewees' occupations are precautions taken to ensure anonymity.

NMP mainly centred on revitalising traditional *adat* culture, to bridge the religious divide between Muslims and Christians (Duncan, 2009). *Adat* refers to a group of customary laws or the unwritten traditional code that can regulate social, political, and economic practices (Bräuchler, 2009). Although *adat* culture and traditions are diverse within NMP, the aim during the reconciliation process was generally to downplay religious animosities by reinvigorating

ing eras. I conducted one immersion in a village in the Kao–Malifut area, and another in a village outside Tobelo Town. These locations are in NHR (see Figure 2), the regency most heavily affected by the violence and that subsequently became an important place during the reconciliation process (Barron et al., 2012, pp. 12, 124). My interpreter and I stayed at one host household in each location, but interacted with several neighbouring households and

many people in the village area (i.e., youths, elderly, service providers, and religious and traditional *adat* leaders).

Several methodological principles in RCA are intended to guide the fieldwork, to better capture grassroots' voices (Arvidson, 2013; EDG, 2014). One important principle is that RCA researchers should strive to informally experience the ordinary life of household members, and trying to avoid guest status. As such, attention must be paid to building rapport and maintaining good relationships that involve sharing, self-disclosure, and self-examination (Dickson-Swift, James, Kippen, & Liamputtong, 2006, p. 856). Correspondingly, having informal conversations instead of formal interviews creates a more relaxed atmosphere and reduces power distances. RCA is sometimes linked to 'listening studies' and the notion of giving voice (Narayan et al., 1999). RCA is often employed to understand longitudinal change, where researchers return to the same households annually for several years. Yet, an RCA study can also be used as a single 'pulse-taking' study, as is the case here (Palladium Group, 2017a, p. 2). Though each RCA project has a certain focus, all RCAs should embrace a cross-sectoral view, 'making sure the enquiry is situated within the context of everyday life rather than looking at one aspect of people's lives' (Palladium Group, 2017b, p. 1). (See Figure 3). For a more comprehensive discussion of RCA, see Arvidson 2013, pp. 279–293).

Interviews with elite and local experts

As members of the local elite were involved in both the violence and the peace-building process, it is necessary to include their perspective. Five in-depth interviews were conducted with local experts and NMP elite respondents, most of whom were identified using snowball sampling, as the respondents' networks were used to find additional respondents. Aliases are used to protect the identities of the respondents (see Figure 4). Ternate City is where the local elite and experts primarily reside, thus most interviews were conducted there, while the remaining interviews took place in NHR's capital, Tobelo. An interpreter was used during both the RCA studies and in-depth interviews.

Conceptualising reconciliation

When episodes of violence come to an end, 'negative emotional residues' often linger, which might reignite violence if not alleviated (Jeong, 2009). Though every conflict is different, very few violent conflicts do not result in physical and emotional separations among the involved communities, and the foundations of such divisions feed on ongoing uncertainty, anger, and fear (ibid.). If widespread, these divisions present serious challenges to building sustainable peace in a post-conflict era. Several scholars agree that coexistence is a vital first objective of reconciliation (Bhargava, 2012; Jeong, 2009; Sampson, 2003). Bhargava (2012) describes peaceful coexistence as the thin notion of reconciliation, which could be characterised as reconciliation as resignation. A concrete example of this is when a conflict ends in a stalemate, forcing the adversaries to adapt to each other. A stronger notion of reconciliation is characterised as 'a condition that must be realised by a collective effort of two or more groups' (Bhargava, 2012, p. 371) and refers to the 'cancellation of enmity or estrangement, via the owning-up of responsibility for wrongdoing followed by forgiveness' (ibid.). This stronger notion of reconciliation is usually associated with accountability, apologising/forgiveness, and shared truth (Duncan, 2016). In reaction to strong criticism of the marginal achievements of top-down approaches to reconciliation, grassroots approaches have gained momentum (Bräuchler, 2009). Many such efforts focus on local cultural, traditional, and indigenous practices (Babo-Soares, 2004; Baines, 2007; Bräuchler, 2009). Apart from generally being bottom-up, these practices differ from the universally cloaked approaches, as they are argued to better capture grassroots agency and relevant socio-cultural peace-building contexts (Bräuchler, 2009; Duncan, 2016).

Critics claim that approaches based on local

traditions also involve risks. For example, a dominant ethnic group's traditional way of reconciling the community could exclude migrants or force them to assimilate to the dominant group's customary rules (Duncan, 2009). Furthermore, *adat* could be manipulated by elites to gain power and resources (Davidson & Henley, 2007). However, Bräuchler (2009) contends that *adat* also possesses great reconciliatory potential, a key to its success often being cooperation between the grassroots and political leaders.

Explaining the peace-building and reconciliation process

In the following sections, the empirical findings from the RCAs and interviews will be analysed in light of the above conceptual framework. Most quotations derive from the interviews, as the RCA methodology does not result in direct quotations. Nonetheless, if a finding was supported by data from an RCA study, it is indicated in the text. Secondary sources are used for triangulation and to put the findings in context.

Elite and grassroots cooperation

An example of strong *adat* culture, prior to the conflict, is the *adat* oath of unity in 1999 among the various sub-groups constituting the Kao ethnic group. The oath kept Christian and Muslim Kao united throughout the communal violence, because, according to local cosmology, one breaking an *adat* oath would suffer illness and death (Duncan, 2014, p. 113). In a few areas of NMP, *adat* had thus managed to prevent violence from erupting.

Thus, after the conflict, this came to be considered the approach with the best potential to bridge the religious divide (Duncan, 2014). During the immersion fieldwork in Kao and Tobelo areas in (2015), many villagers relayed that the *adat* reconciliation efforts were initiated by the local elite, but had received considerable grassroots support. This happened amidst widespread conflict fatigue and the general realisation that the communal violence

had chiefly brought death and destruction (ibid.). It emerged from interviews I conducted in 2015 that similar opinions were also manifest among all elite and expert respondents. It seems that the theoretical arguments favouring a localised approach best fit the process in NMP. Local leaders took a leading role based on notions of the *adat* culture originating from NMP, as opposed to cookie-cutter approaches imposed by central government (interviews, 2015).

Local expert and elite members' perceptions of *adat*

The use of *adat* in NMP was, and still is, articulated in various ways, as some communities have their own local *adat* culture. In NHR, the *adat* notion of *hibualamo* became most important for the reconciliation process (Duncan, 2016). For example, in Tobelo and on Kakara Island, the traditional long house or *hibualamo* has been rebuilt. Yet, in many other areas these traditional meeting places, which served as mediation spaces for communal conflicts, have only been revived in spirit. Journalist Ibrahim explained the concept to me during an interview in February 2015:

> The *hibualamo* exists as a result of our ancient local wisdom found in North and West Halmahera. In West Halmahera it is called *sasadu* even though it has a house shape similar to that of the hibualamo. Physically, it is a house, but philosophically, it means a meeting place for diverse people and communities. Immigrants can also visit the hibualamo.

Former conflict leader, Emmanuel, agreed as well:

> Even though we have many newcomers here from different areas in Indonesia, with different ethnicities, we decided that we must try to gather all the different groups within the *hibualamo* [in Tobelo], though these groups should still keep their diversity (interview, March 2015).

Emmanuel reflected further on the fact that the notions of *adat* used to reconcile the communities after the communal violence were not, in fact, very conservative:

> On special occasions [in the past] when many ethnic groups from around Indonesia were gathered, it was a bit ironic, because it was only the Tobelos who did not have special traditional clothing … we just have a traditional hat. But now we have got inspiration from outside and we have modernised our tradition. Now, on every Thursday, all students and civil servants wear 'traditional Tobelo batik' (interview, March 2015).

Another aspect was stressed by civil servant, Fikri:

> Civil society, but especially the people, had the biggest role compared with the government. You can see that, up to today, we do not have conflict, because the peace came from the people, and it started with self-awareness … People also realised that they would like to die in the places where they came from (interview, March 2015).

These accounts reveal certain important aspects of the notion of *adat* that I believe are integral to the successful consolidation of peace in NMP, besides the actions of the GoI. For example, most communities seem to downplay their religious identities by rearticulating an *adat* discourse focused on their common descent or culture, as was the view of most elite and expert respondents, as well as many people at the grassroots level with whom I had informal conversations during the fieldwork.

A pragmatic revitalisation

The above findings show that pragmatism was one of the keys to the success. Even though a common ethnicity was often part of the focus, that notion was not exclusive: both locals and migrants were encouraged to be part of this community-based traditional reconciliation, that aimed to prevent the recurrence of ethno-religious provocations. According to Acciaioli (2001), an exclusionary character is a major pitfall of cultural reconciliation approaches in general. By keeping the *adat* approach inclusive of migrants and minority groups, NMP has generally avoided this common pitfall (interviews, 2015) This aspect also became very clear during the immersion fieldwork, in which the majority of the local people considered the *adat* approach to be inclusive of everyone and to be more important for peace-building than the GoI's actions.

Nonetheless, during informal conversations, some villagers in the Kao area argued that other actors also deserve credit for contributing to the absence of new conflicts against the backdrop of the *adat* approach, for example, religious leaders who have generally supported, and at times actively promoted, the notion of *adat*. As religious leaders often possess considerable authority in their communities in NMP (Duncan, 2014), their cooperation with *adat* leaders should be considered one of the keys to the consolidation of peace, according to many villagers in the Kao area (fieldwork, 2015). Their pragmatic amenability in this case is significant, because historically there have been considerable frictions between religion and *adat*, some religious leaders having argued that certain *adat* traditions are incompatible with strict Islam or Christianity (Bräuchler, 2009). Furthermore, both during the immersion fieldwork and in many elite and expert interviews, people mentioned positive impacts in their communities relating to programmes implemented by local NGOs or INGOs. Lecturer and former aid worker Wiwin explained:

> We [the UNDP] used to involve important leaders such as religious leaders, youth leaders, and *adat* leaders in our programmes because they could help bring people together. We had programmes with football, sports, and the arts to bring the communities together … and my team included both Christians and Muslims and we were a very solid team (interview, February 2015).

These religiously mixed working teams are an example of inter-faith collaboration for peace. Many people at the grassroots level, moreover, give credit to several NGOs for benefitting their communities. Some examples include physical reconstruction and mental rehabilitation projects, as was stressed by interviewee Wiwin in February 2015, and similar views later surfaced during the fieldwork in the Tobelo area; A philanthropic initiative that involved a man called 'Pak Thomas' (alias), who had emigrated to Germany before the communal violence was regarded as very successful. He returned in 2003 and wanted to help reconcile his former home village. Apart from donating construction material for houses, he purchased a fishing boat and founded a fishing cooperative. He required workers to work together with people from different religions, as the village included both Christians and Muslims. Villagers said this was great for reconciliation, and helped the suffering local economy.

Another finding from the fieldwork in this area was the 'provocateur narrative' advocated by a few people. Although this narrative is more or less a conspiracy theory (Van Klinken, 2007), it advances unification by suggesting that much of the violence had been driven by 'outsiders', such as national political elites, military units, and sometimes people from elsewhere in NMP. This strategy is common in post-conflict scenarios, as it helps reduce in-group feelings of collective guilt. On the one hand, this narrative may make it easier for perpetrators to avoid admitting guilt; on the other, it can promote reconciliation by bridging the divisions in local communities. This narrative has helped reduce incentives for post-conflict violence in parts of the Moluccas (Björkhagen, 2013).

Lingering peace vulnerabilities

In NMP, the issue of culpability has been largely absent from the peace and reconciliation process (Duncan, 2016). Unsurprisingly, the local elite stressed the importance of moving on and forgetting the violence, as is evident in the local peace

agreement (Duncan, 2014). Government officials maintained that assigning blame to individuals or groups could spark new violence, as the Christian and Muslim narratives were seldom identical, and the justice system is incapable of prosecuting the many people involved in the communal conflicts (Duncan, 2014 p. 114). Yet, if you are a victim of violence and have lost family members, it might take longer to move on. During informal interactions, local people privately expressed anger at the fact that people responsible for killing their family members had not faced any legal consequences. Nonetheless, the same people had themselves chosen to return to the same mixed-faith villages after the conflict, which indicates a desire to move on.

Yosef, a Christian entrepreneur in Ternate, stressed that relations were 'back to normal', though he also mentioned ongoing discrimination towards the minority Christian community (e.g., difficulty obtaining permits to build a church), which he relayed during our interview in March (2015). Regrettably, weak rule of law, the inaction of the security forces, and the fact that some leaders of the conflict now enjoy high positions in local and provincial governments perpetuate institutional weakness. This sends the message that the use of violence can pay off (Wilson, 2015). In NMP, anti-corruption measures have not been completely fruitless, however, as the former governor Thaib Armaiyn was incarcerated for embezzling funds earmarked for IDPs in NMP (CNN, 2015). Still, NMP remains largely religiously segregated, a situation exacerbated by the many mono-faith schools. Underlying religious tensions are also still present in local politics in the form of religious patronage and lingering fears of Christianisation or Islamisation (Duncan, 2016). Horizontal inequalities between the former conflicting communities still remain a problem in need of serious action from the local government, in order to strengthen social cohesion (Brown et al., 2005).

Conclusion

I argue that the above efforts, that is, a focus on

a common descent by revitalising *adat* culture, being inclusive to migrants, and the pragmatic cooperation between the elite and the grassroots, have contributed to the successful peace and reconciliation process. The findings suggest that the efforts fulfil the first important objective of reconciliation, namely, *peaceful coexistence* (Sampson, 2003) as both sides shared a desire to reconcile by emphasising their commonalities rather than differences. As the violence in NMP ended in a stalemate in NHR, both sides realised that they had to adapt and work towards respecting each other's identities and emphasise their common humanity, thus setting aside the dehumanisation of the 'religious other'. As the vast majority of local people had suffered significantly from the violence, the majority wanted to end hostilities. In fact, attitudes and behaviours did change, which was essential for the framework. Nonetheless, I would not argue that the strongest level of reconciliation has been fully realised in NHR or in Ternate, as theorised by Bhargava (2014). In Ternate, many Christians never returned for various reasons: many had resettled in majority Christian areas elsewhere, and for some, there was continued distrust of the majority Muslim community. In addition, I argue that NMP and NHR have not realised strong reconciliation in the sense of 'owning-up of responsibility for wrongdoing followed by forgiveness' as Bhargava (2012, p. 371) suggest.

To conclude, the reasons behind the success of the *adat* approach are multifaceted and include widespread conflict fatigue; incentives created by the GoI; a history of peaceful coexistence; (inter-religious) kinship ties; inclusiveness; and the outsider 'provocateur' narrative. These factors have contributed to today's peaceful coexistence, mirroring the thin notion of reconciliation. This study indicates that people were not reconciled just because of *adat*, but the notion of *adat* was successfully revitalised and rearticulated because many people had a motivation to work for peace and reconciliation. This is of course reasonable, given the conflict's level of death and destruction for both communities.

Adat became a strong unifying factor, by providing a framework for reconciliation that indeed unified local society at various levels, which created a synergy effect. In addition, where *adat* was insufficient (such as for rebuilding infrastructure), support was provided by local NGOs and INGOs, which generally managed to avoid sponsoring cookie-cutter approaches.

Although the *adat* approach has contributed to today's peaceful coexistence, political attention must be directed towards strengthening weak local governance, further improving inter-religious collaboration, and reducing longstanding horizontal inequalities to erase the lingering vulnerabilities of the current peace. It would be fruitful for future research to further explore how local culture has been used in other areas affected by communal violence and thereby assessing its reconciliatory potential in a wider context, e.g., by employing yearly RCA immersions combined with quantitative methods, to better understand the complexities that are intrinsic in processes of peacebuilding, reconciliation and development over time.

Martin Björkhagen has a Master of Science degree in Development Studies from Lund University, majoring in Political Science, and a Bachelor's degree in Peace and Conflict Studies from Malmö University where he did half of his studies as an exchange student at Gadjah Mada University of Yogyakarta.

Email: martin_bjorkhagen@hotmail.com

References

Acciaioli, G. (2001). Grounds of conflict, idioms of harmony: Custom, religion, and nationalism in violence avoidance at the lindu plain, central sulawesi. *Indonesia, 72*, 81-114.

Arvidson, M. (2013). Ethics, intimacy and distance in longitudinal, qualitative research: Experiences from Reality Check Bangladesh. *Progress in Development Studies, 13*(4), 279-293.

Babo-Soares, D. (2004). Nahe biti: The philosophy and process of grassroots reconciliation (and justice) in East Timor. *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology, 5*(1), 15-33.

Baines, E. K. (2007). The haunting of Alice: Local approaches to justice and reconciliation in northern Uganda. *International Journal of Transitional Justice, 1*(1), 91-114.

Barron, P., Azca, M. N., & Susdinarjanti, T. (2012). *After the communal war: Understanding and addressing post-conflict violence in eastern Indonesia*. Yogyakarta: CSPS Books.

Bertrand, J. (2004). *Nationalism and ethnic conflict in Indonesia*. Cambridge University Press.

Bhargava, R. (2012). The difficulty of reconciliation. *Philosophy & Social Criticism, 38*(4-5), 369-377.

Björkhagen, M. (2013). *The conflict in the Moluccas: Local youths' perceptions contrasted to previous research* (Bachelor's thesis). Retrieved from: http://muep.mah.se/bitstream/handle/2043/19217/BjorkhagenBAthesis.pdf?sequence=2&isAllowed=y

Brown, G., Wilson, C., & Hadi, S. (2005). *Overcoming violent conflict: Peace and Development Analysis in Maluku and North Maluku*. United Nations Development Program. Jakarta: Indonesia Printers.

Bräuchler, B. (2009). *Reconciling Indonesia: Grassroots agency for peace*. London: Routledge.

CNN Indonesia. (2015). *Mantan Gubernur Maluku Utara Divonis Dua Tahun Penjara*. Retrieved from: http://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20150812151207-12-71663/mantan-gubernur-maluku-utara-divonis-dua-tahun-penjara/

Davidson, J., & Henley, D. (2007). The revival of tradition in Indonesian politics: The deployment of adat from colonialism to indigenism. London: Routledge.

Dickson-Swift, V., James, E. L., Kippen, S., & Liamputtong, P. (2006). Blurring boundaries in qualitative health research on sensitive topics. *Qualitative Health Research, 16*(6), 853-871.

Duncan, C. R. (2007). The devil is in the details: Representations of conflict in northern Maluku, eastern Indonesia. GARP12. Working Paper. Goldsmiths Anthropology Research Papers. London, UK.

Duncan, C. R. (2009). Reconciliation and revitalization: The resurgence of tradition in postconflict Tobelo, North Maluku, eastern Indonesia. *The Journal of Asian Studies,*

68(04), 1077-1104.

Duncan, C. R. (2014). *Violence and vengeance: Religious conflict and its aftermath in eastern Indonesia*. Singapore: NUS Press.

Duncan, C. R. (2016). Coexistence not Reconciliation: From Communal Violence to Non-Violence in North Maluku, Eastern Indonesia. *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology, 17* (05), 460-474. Taylor and Francis Online. Retrieved from: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14442213.2016.1206615

EDG. (2014). *A short introduction to RCA: 2014*. Australian Aid and Effective Development Group.

Jeong, H. (2009). *Conflict management and resolution: An introduction*. London: Routledge.

Lencer. (2013). *Map Maluku islands*. Wikimedia Commons. Retrieved from: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Maluku_Islands_en.png

Narayan, D., Patel, R., Schafft, K., Rademacher, A., & Koch-Schulte, S. (1999). *Can anyone hear us? voices from 47 countries*. Washington D.C: World Bank.

Palladium Group. (2017a). *RCA policy practice*. The Palladium Group.
Retrieved from: http://www.reality-check-approach.com/uploads/6/0/8/2/60824721/the_rca_policy_practice.pdf

Palladium Group. (2017b). *Promotional brochure*. The Palladium Group. Retrieved from: http://www.reality-check-approach.com/uploads/6/0/8/2/60824721/rca_promotional_brochure_v5.pdf

Sampson, S. L. (2003). From reconciliation to coexistence. *Public Culture, 15*(1), 181-186.

Smith, C. Q. (2014). Illiberal peace-building in hybrid political orders: Managing violence during Indonesia's contested political transition. *Third World Quarterly, 35*(8), 1509-1528.

Tourism and Cultural Office, North Halmahera Regency. (2014).

Van Klinken, G. (2007). *Communal violence and democratization in Indonesia: Small town wars*. London: Routledge.

Van Klinken, G. (2008). The Maluku wars: 'Communal contenders' in a failing state. In Charles A. Coppel, (Ed), *Violent conflicts in Indonesia: analysis, representation, resolution*, 129-143. Richmond: Routledge.

Wilson, C. (2008). *Ethno-religious violence in Indonesia: From soil to god*. London: Routledge.

Wilson, C. (2015). Illiberal democracy and violent conflict in contemporary Indonesia. *Democratization, 22*(7), 1-21. Retrieved from: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13510347.2014.949680?journalCode=fdem20

World Bank. (2011). *World development report 2011: Conflict, security, and development*. World Bank.

Öberg, M., & Strøm, K. (2007). *Resources, governance and civil conflict*. London: Routledge.

Perspectives on Paradise:

Reconsidering the Development of Tourism in Southeast Asia through the Case of Nusa Lembongan, Indonesia

JONATHAN FAARBORG LEHMANN & ASMUS RUNGBY

Based on ethnographic fieldwork on the island of Nusa Lembongan, this paper explores how the emergence of tourist industries influences the local population. Although this kind of development can be found in most of Southeast Asia, this paper analyses ethnographic material from the small island of Nusa Lembongan to argue that the power relationship between foreign guests and local hosts is asymmetrical because it takes place within an unequal, capitalist world system. The morality, globality, and inequality of tourism is at the centre of attention. In this paper, then, we contribute to the ongoing debate on tourism and development by ethnographically situating global tourism in the context of Nusa Lembongan and by showing how the relationship between tourists and locals can be challenging for both sides. The paper argues against reductive econocentric accounts of the impact of tourism as conducive to economic growth and in favour of a more nuanced conceptual model which accounts for interpersonal misrecognition, inequality, and global economic structures.

According to mainstream economics, the development of tourism on an island like Nusa Lembongan should be beneficient, as the inflow of capital from other parts of the world leads to better standards of living for Lembongans. In this perspective, tourism is believed to create better roads, better schools and in general builds an infrastructure that would never have been built otherwise. A superficial glance at Nusa Lembongan would seem to support this. The roads are indeed better. Electricity is more reliable. Roofs are no longer thatched but made of solid ceramics. But this is only part of the picture. To really understand the impact of tourism, we also have to look at how the benefits from it are distributed. The new houses made from concrete, for instance, are for tourists not locals. The only cars using the roads, indeed the only cars on the island, are trucks transporting tourists to and fro. The boats that bring in tourists to the island disturb the local wildlife and ruin the conditions for fishing and seaweed farming on which many Lembongans rely for subsistence. Consequently, most of the people living on Nusa Lembongan have turned to tourism in order to sustain themselves and in this way tourism has fundamentally changed the conditions of life on Nusa Lembongan.

To fully grasp the impact of tourism, a critical perspective on the inherent power relationship between the guests and hosts must be presented (for a general discussion of the relationship between hosts and guests see Smith, 1978). We argue that for a broader, more nuanced understanding of the relationship between guest and host, the power structures underlying this encounter must be taken into account. Analysing these structures, we rely on theoretical insights formed by Axel Honneth's ideas about morality and recognition (1994), Immanuel

Wallerstein's World System Analysis (1974), and lastly Michael Herzfeld's concept of inchoate intimacies of power (2015). In applying this theoretical framework to ethnographic findings, we show how tourism on Nusa Lembongan reflects the inequalities of global economic structures.

We make use of an ethnographic case observed during fieldwork on Nusa Lembongan from September 2015 until January 2016. Bent Flyvbjerg argues that case studies can effectively illustrate broader social dynamics (2006, pp. 26–27). Accordingly, we analyse a conflict between Ratih, a homestay owner, and a Spanish tourist to illustrate and exemplify social processes between guest and host in an environment of a recently established tourism industry. The conflict is particularly appropriate as an illustration of the impact of tourism on Nusa Lembongan because the dynamics under which it unfolds relate directly to the structural conditions under which tourism operates. Furthermore, combining ethnography with theoretical perspectives creates precisely the kind of knowledge needed in order to push the debate on tourism and development beyond schematic economic accounts.

Bali's little brother – changes and challenges

Bali is, perhaps, the most studied island in anthropology – at least in Indonesia. The Hindu island in a Muslim sea, Bali differentiates itself in terms of religion and cultural practises (Hobart, Ramseyer, & Leemann, 2001, p. 32). Though it lies only a few kilometres to the east, Nusa Lembongan has not been studied in the same way. In fact, only a few ethnographic studies exist (see for example C. Kossmann, 2015, 2015; C. M. Kossmann, Behagel, & Bailey, 2016; Long & Wall, 1996). However, Nusa Lembongan is significant because of the fast pace of the rising

tourist industry and the small size of the island. The island covers only approximately eight square kilometres and has a population of around 4,000 people who are divided into two villages, Desa Lembongan and Desa Jungutbatu. Nusa Lembongan's combination of a rapidly developing tourism industry and its small size makes it particularly well suited to understand the changes and challenges which emerge from rapid restructuring of local conditions to fit the global tourism industry.

Before the advent of tourism in the early 1990's, Lembongans relied on fishing and the production of salt in barter exchanges with Bali and the two neighbouring islands, Nusa Penida and Nusa Cenningan. Some 30 years ago, however, the industry of seaweed farming was introduced and gradually became the main occupation on the island. The money earned from exporting seaweed to the globalised world drastically changed the living conditions and the island saw an influx of modern technology. This process was reinforced by a decree from the independent Balinese administration which prohibited certain fishing practises in order to enhance the environmental conditions for the tourist industry. Since the 1990's, as more and more tourists flock to this little oasis, the demand for accommodation has increased. Thus, many Lembongan families seize the economic benefits of turning their homes into homestays or attempt to access the new tourist industry in other ways. Today, 10 large resorts and some 80 smaller homestays are spread out across the two villages.

Privileged tourists

"Without tourism I would still be farming seaweed like my parents did and I am happy that I don't", Dewa, a surfing instructor in his early twenties living on Nusa Lembongan replied when asked about the current development of Nusa Lembongan. Typical of Lembongan youth, Dewa has foregone former Lembongan livelihoods of fishing or seaweed farming to work in tourism.

As on many similar islands in Southeast Asia,

tourism introduces new economic possibilities (Oakes & Minca, 2004, p. 282). As a consequence of the island's emerging tourist industry, more than half of the Lembongans today rely on arriving tourists. Accordingly, tourism is the main driver of the Lembongan economy.

Our analysis interrogates the new social hierarchy between tourists and Lembongans to gain a deeper understanding of this development. This hierarchy is apparent in the words of Dewa as he elaborated on the privileges of tourists, "Tourist aren't privileged because they can come here and enjoy life, they are privileged because they can *leave*" (emphasis added). Here, Dewa points out the unequal relationship between himself and the tourists. While the tourists always have the economic means to leave whenever they want, he has no choice but to stay and provide service for the arriving tourists. Tourist privilege, for Dewa, consists of the ability to opt out of tourism service relationships. Overlooking this difference between Dewa and the tourists whose patronage he relies on obscures the social experiences of tourism on Nusa Lembongan. The asymmetry of the relationship between guest and host is a fundamental aspect of life on Nusa Lembongan as our ensuing ethnographic example illustrates.

The conflict

Ratih and Made Swandana, both native-born Lembongans, have recently turned part of their home into a homestay for visiting tourists. Like Dewa, they have transitioned from producing seaweed into taking part in the tourist industry. The entire household, the couple and Made's parents, take part in the general management of the homestay. They often lamented the unfairness involved in the relationship between tourists and Lembongans. Yet, as many Lembongan families now rely on this very livelihood strategy, the competition for tourist patronage is fierce and the Swandanas took out loans to rebuild their home according to tourist sensibilities. Consequently, they had little choice but to host as

many tourists as possible or default on their loans.

The conflict in question took place between Ratih and a Spanish tourist on an unusually hot morning in the homestay's verdant garden. Like any respectable Lembongan family, the Swandana's family shrine takes up most of the space in their garden and the actual conflict played out in sight of this Holy ground. The Spanish tourist was looking for time to relax and recharge his batteries. As such, he booked his stay at the Swandanas' homestay through the *Airbnb* app on his phone, which has become the popular choice for booking low cost accommodation throughout Southeast Asia. Unfortunately, as the Spanish tourist loudly informed Ratih, he had a terrible night because the air conditioning in his room broke down. The small fan that was being used as a replacement also kept stopping because of the frequent local electricity outages typical on Nusa Lembongan. Tired and frustrated from lack of sleep because of the heavy humid heat, he felt misled by the profile on *Airbnb*, which promised an air-conditioned room. The tourist approached Ratih as she was sitting on her adjacent veranda doing daily chores. He then proceeded to shout at her, accusing her of trying to cheat him and demanded a refund. Feeling unfairly treated, Ratih responded equally forcefully.

To Ratih and her family, it is no small gesture to return the money as their economy hinges on amounts like this. However, as Ratih is anxious to avoid a negative review on her *Airbnb* page, she pushes the button on the webpage that she believes will return the money. Unfortunately, Ratih, struggling with the English language of the app, presses an incorrect button. When the Spanish tourist discovers that the money has not been returned to his account, he once again accuses Ratih of cheating him. From his perspective, the situation is outrageous; he has recently travelled several thousand miles, paid a considerable amount of money, and, perhaps more importantly, this holiday is his only chance to relax before he must return to "everyday life". This, in combination with the Indonesian morn-ing heat and his lack of sleep is a vicious cocktail, and he reacts by making insulting remarks about the homestay, the island, and what he perceives to be Ratih's lack of professionalism. The unfairness of having his few days in paradise ruined by an unprofessional homestay owner is simply too much for him and he runs off to find the local police officer.

Meanwhile, tears of frustration and humiliation run down Ratih's cheeks. She feels disempowered by the humiliation and embarrassed about not being able to master the app. She feels insulted by the harsh words from someone whom she had done everything in her power to help. Most of all she is tired of yet another tourist being unreasonable. This was but one of many conflicts we experienced in the field. In the end, the tourist never found the police officer and Ratih eventually found the correct button to return his money.

The conflict illustrates the widely different perspectives from which tourism is experienced and how the pristine island paradise, which the tourist delights in visiting, is experienced by the Lembongans working the tourist industry. Encounters like this one exemplify how people's different economic situations shape their interactions with each other. In the following, we will venture deeper into the relationship between guest and host.

Mutual misrecognition

Axel Honneth argues that the very core of what it is to be a human being is to seek to be recognised as a full and valuable person (Honneth, 1994). When humans are not recognised as proper full persons, they experience a profound injustice (Honneth, 1994, p. 256). To be misrecognised is to feel dehumanised and, following Honneth, it is also morally wrong to misrecognize fellow human beings.

The conflict between the Spanish tourist and Ratih exemplifies this point. The disagreement is not just a simple misunderstanding. Rather, both parties of the conflict seem to be guilty of not recognizing the other's point of view. Ratih might have tried to understand and recognise the Spanish tour-

ist for wanting the room promised by the profile on her app. To the Spanish tourist, however, anger and frustration seems an adequate response in so far as he has sacrificed both time and money to come here. If Ratih had only shown some recognition of this, the situation might not have escalated as it did. Had she been able to recognise his situation from his perspective, he might actually have felt good in spite of the problem with the air-con. He might even have had a nice vacation on Nusa Lembongan and given Ratih and her family a sympathetic review.

In the light of Honneth's moral theory, on the other hand, the Spanish tourist is also at fault as he is unable to recognise the situation of Ratih and her family. Ratih is in a tight spot. She needs the income from the homestay and because of the Spanish tourist's reaction she not only gives up already earned money, but is forced to worry about diminished income as a consequence of the tourist reviewing her homestay poorly. This is a significant blow to her economy. When he also shames her for being unprofessional, it is adding insult to injury. The misrecognition is mutual even if neither of them had any deliberate intentions of hurting the other. However, the mutual misrecognition is based on a fundamentally asymmetrical relationship. The Spanish tourist and Ratih occupy unequal positions. As Dewa pointed out, the Spanish tourist can simply gather his things and leave, while Ratih is unable to move her business and life and needs his patronage. Her family's livelihood depends on the money she makes from guests to her family's homestay. The Spanish tourist fails to see this underlying inequality and disregards the fortunate position he holds.

Nusa Lembongan in the world system

Nusa Lembongan is far from the only place that has been transformed by the huge economic power of tourism. Places like Nusa Lembongan are scattered all over Southeast Asia. The World Travel and Tourism Council reports that one in eleven jobs in the world is in tourism and this constitutes 10 % of the world GDP (WTTC, 2016). Tourism is not just big

business – it is enormous business. Furthermore, tourism is also a global phenomenon. In this light, there is nothing curious about a small island in the middle of the Javanese Sea being inhabited by tourists from all over the world.

One classical framework situated in the tradition of critical theory for addressing such globality is Immanuel Wallerstein's *World Systems Analysis* (1974). Capitalism, for Wallerstein, is a global economic system (2004, p. 17). Wallerstein clarifies how the production of global wealth disparities is a matter of systematically extracting resources from peripheral countries, be they minerals, labour or goods, and amassing them in economic centres in core countries (2004, p. 18). In this logic, the relative poverty on Nusa Lembongan compared to the wealth in the part of the world from which the tourists come is a product of the world system. Starting from the flexible definition of class suggested by Karl Marx as a group constituted in so far as its members are subject to similar economic conditions relative to other classes (1978, p. 608), we may productively combine this with Wallerstein's theoretical framework and think of classes not as segments of populations within particular nation states but rather as economic groups that cut across state borders. In their homelands, tourists may be part of many different classes, but relative to the locals on Nusa Lembongan it is more accurate to think of them as part of the same class with substantially greater economic resources than the locals.

Thinking about the conflict from this perspective casts it in a different light. It is not only about mutual misrecognition. If the global world is figuratively divided into those who can and those who cannot leave Nusa Lembongan, then the guest's behaviour becomes less morally acceptable. In line with Dean MacCannell's argument that global tourism is a modern iteration of a leisure class relationship (2013), the tourist ought to have considered the asymmetry involved in the interaction. For MacCannell, Westerners, who might not be rich in terms of the economic stratifications of their home-

lands but nevertheless are much wealthier than the local people they meet on vacation when they go to Southeast Asia, can afford luxuries which are unavailable to them at home. Applying MacCannell's arguments in a Wallersteinian framework charts a paradox of the modern world system. Before the development of contemporary tourism infrastructures, the luxuries sought by the few rich people of the leisure class were things like gold and silk which could be imported and enjoyed at home. The luxuries of the new leisure classes are, in contrast, the white beaches and the warm weather of Southeast Asia, both of which are notoriously difficult to import. Curiously then, while the physical movement is reversed, in that we now move people to luxuries rather than moving luxuries to people, the social movement of luxury is the same. Failing to see this larger perspective involved in the relation between the guest and the host as embedded in the world system, like the Spanish tourist does, obscures an important power structure inherent to tourism in Southeast Asia.

Inchoate intimacies of power

It is analytically useful to address the conflict between Ratih and the Spanish tourist because it allows us to unfold what Michael Herzfeld calls the *inchoate intimacies of power* (2015). These are the little details, invisible at first glance, which express the relations of power manifest in social reality (Herzfeld, 2015, p. 18). One thing is how the conflict is embedded in the world system, another is the *Airbnb* app itself. Developed by Westerners in their language and used by Western tourists to serve their ends. To a certain degree, the app helps Ratih and her family in managing the bookings of the homestay. However, because of her limited command of English, her interaction with it is less fluent. She understands the symbols that show when a tourist will arrive and leave but not the actual language of the app. Thus, an asymmetric power relation is also inscribed in the app; Ratih is forced to use a foreign language at home in order

to accommodate outsiders visiting her. According to Herzfeld, it is the anthropological sensibility towards this sort of detail that enables us to lift the veil of neutrality from the app (2015, p. 28). The app is a product of an unequal world and mirrors this inequality.

The inequality of the situation, however, does not end with the world system and the app. The very act of buying a night of accommodation is already embedded in invisible and asymmetric power relations. In his discussion of ideology, in the Marxist sense, Stuart Hall explains how ideological distortion can take the form of overemphasizing particular elements (1986, p. 33). As Hall argues, the distortion inherent in the assumption that trade is free is persuasive because commodity exchanges are, in themselves, free (1986, p. 34). However, the surrounding world that produces the commodity and the commodity exchangers is not free. In Hall's view, the distortion resides in neglecting the unequal conditions of trade, not in the freedom of isolated trades. Ratih's subsistence relies on being able to rent out rooms in her home. The tourist also needs a place to sleep, but the conditions for his participation in the exchange are quite different. Ratih must continue to attract members of his class, while neither the Spanish tourist nor his class have any real need of Ratih in particular. Even though the reimbursement of the tourist is a serious expense for her, she fulfilled the reimbursement because of the risk that bad reviews may jeopardize her and her family's livelihood. The Spanish tourist, by contrast, risks almost nothing. Thus, the particular relationship in our case is marked by the freedom of leisure on the one hand and stark necessity on the other.

Conclusion

We should be wary of the tourism industry's gigantic economic impacts. People like Dewa and Ratih work hard to make the best of this new situation, but they do not have the massive resources of the foreign investment companies who build big resorts on the beachfront. Instead, they must make do with

smaller businesses and consequently they reap but a sliver of the rewards. This paper shows how the asymmetric power relationship between guest and host reflects the inequalities of the current world system. Furthermore, it shows how failing to recognise this underlying structure puts one at risk of behaving amorally.

The value of considering the impact of tourism on Nusa Lembongan through the trifocal theoretical lens of recognition, World Systems Theory and the inchoate intimacies of power is that it enables us to understand that economic growth and the rapid development of international tourism imports to Southeast Asian sites like Nusa Lembongan are intrinsically tied to issues of global inequality. In the current world system, the enormous growth of tourism may be inevitable, but the inherent imbalance of power involved in tourism of the kind we have examined calls for attention to be directed at the consequences for the people living in and from tourism. Future research into these aspects would benefit from this more nuanced and less econo-centric model of thought. Tracing the impact of tourism on ordinary life and showing how life is lived within the changing structures it imposes is a key responsibility for social science in general and tourism and development research in particular.

Jonathan Faarborg Lehmann and **Asmus Rungby** co-authored this article. They study at the Institute of Anthropology at the University of Copenhagen.

Email: Jonathanfaarborglehmann@gmail.com, rungby@hotmail.com

References

Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, *12*(2), 219–245. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800405284363

Hall, S. (1986). The Problem of Ideology: Marxism without Guarantees. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, *10*(2), 28–44.

Herzfeld, M. (2015). Anthropology and the inchoate intimacies of power. *American Ethnologist*, *42*(1), 18–32. https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.12113

Hobart, A., Ramseyer, U., & Leemann, A. (2001). *The people of Bali*. Oxford, England: Blackwell.

Honneth, A. (1994). The Social Dynamics of Disrespect: On the Location of Critical Theory Today. *Constellations*, *2*(1), 255–269.

Kossmann, C. (2015). *Collaborative Governance in the Nusa Penida Marine Protected Area, Indonesia* (Master Thesis). Wageningen University & Research, Wageningen.

Kossmann, C. M., Behagel, J. H., & Bailey, M. (2016). Action and inertia in collaborative governance. *Marine Policy*, *72*(11), 21–30. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.marpol.2016.06.007

Long, V., & Wall, G. (1996). Successful tourism in Nusa Lembongan, Indonesia? *Tourism Management*, *17*(1), 43–50. https://doi.org/10.1016/0261-5177(95)00099-2

MacCannell, D. (2013). *The tourist: a new theory of the leisure class*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Marx, K. (1978). The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte. In R. Tucker (Ed.), *The Marx-Engels Reader* (pp. 594–617). New York: Norton & Company.

Oakes, T., & Minca, C. (2004). Tourism, Modernity, and Postmodernity. In A. A. Lew, C. M. Hall, & A. M. Williams (Eds.), *A Companion to Tourism* (pp. 280–290). Malden, MA, USA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470752272.ch22

Smith, V. L. (Ed.). (1978). *Hosts and guests: the anthropology of tourism*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Wallerstein, I. (1974). *Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-economy in the Sixteenth Century*. Berkeley, Calif.: Univ. of California Press.

Wallerstein, I. (2004). *World-systems Analysis: an Introduction*. Durham: Duke University Press.

WTTC. (2016). Economic Impact of Tourism. Retrieved September 7, 2016, from http://www.wttc.org/research/economic-research/economic-impact-analysis/

Book Review

Pei, Minxin. *China's Crony Capitalism: The Dynamics of Regime Decay.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016, 376 pp., ISBN: 9780674737297 (hardcover)

In *China's Crony Capitalism: The Dynamics of Regime Decay,* political scientist and veteran China watcher Minxin Pei argues that partial privatization coupled with the decentralization of administrative authority has created the conditions for crony capitalism in post-Tiananmen China. The former refers to a partial property rights reform that has created a market for "use rights" of public property, without adequately clarifying the ownership of those assets. The latter refers to the decentralization of the control and disposal of public property. These reforms have generated hitherto unavailable opportunities for "political and economic elites" to obtain public assets at heavily discounted prices. Yet due to the vague ownership of these assets elites are forced to collude in order to overcome mutual vetoes and allow the joint looting of the property. Moreover, elite collusion would not have been possible without the decentralization of cadre management. This, Pei explains, has enabled local party bosses to recruit new loyalists into their collusive networks.

The book's seven chapters deal with different aspects of China's crony capitalism. The first two chapters trace the genesis and evolution of elite collusion in China by observing key institutional changes in the reform-era. Chapters 3 to 6 discuss various forms of elite collusion. In Chapter 7, Pei demonstrates the extent to which collusion has penetrated and corrupted key state institutions, including the courts and regulatory bodies. In the conclusion, Pei offers an alarming assessment of the state of China's communist regime, giving plenty of reasons for concern – both for China's leaders and those hoping for a gradual, peaceful democratic transition. Elite collusion, he argues, "produces a self-destructive dynamic inside the Leninist regime that will almost certainly accelerate its demise" (p. 261). Moreover, in the case of a regime collapse followed by a democratic transition, surviving collusive alliances could seize control over valuable state-owned assets and undermine the democratic consolidation process. China, he warns, could become a new Russia or Ukraine.

China's Crony Capitalism echoes the pessimism expressed in Pei's previous work. In *China's Trapped Transition*, Pei argued that China had found itself "trapped" in a stage of incomplete reform, whereby partially reformed political and economic institutions were used mainly to serve the interests of a predatory ruling elite. In that book, the analytical focus was on the pervasive patronage networks at the centre of China's political system, and how the CCP relies on rents from vital sectors to co-opt key societal groups. Meaningful reform in those sectors was highly unlikely, Pei found, as it would entail the loss of patronage power on which the CCP relies for survival. In *China's Crony Capitalism,* Pei is equally sceptical towards the CCP's capacity to reform itself: the CCP is unlikely to reform its crony capitalist institutions since they are "the very foundations of the regime's monopoly of power" (p. 267).

Hence, a pervading theme throughout Pei's books has been the inherent limitations of China's

Leninist regime to adapt and tackle the many challenges brought about by economic and social modernization. In championing this view, Pei has demonstrated admirable academic courage and foresight over the years. When *China's Trapped Transition* was published back in 2006, the view that institutionalization had somehow made the Chinese regime more stable and even "resilient" was still widely held among China watchers. Since then, however, the field has gradually moved closer to Pei. The fact that Pei's views have remained consistent over the years whereas the rest of the field has moved closer to him testifies to the quality of his scholarship.

Is Pei's pessimism about China's future warranted, or does it represent wishful thinking by a scholar who is deeply dissatisfied with China's current political and social order? To dispel potential accusations of bias or excessive scepticism, the author cleverly begins each chapter of the book with a quote by CCP General Secretary Xi Jinping, which basically confirms the thesis of that chapter. The fact that Pei's concerns are shared by China's paramount leader lends further credibility to his claims.

Pei's research is based on an analysis of 260 cases of collusive corruption found in Chinese newspapers, official press releases, court documents, government documents, and other publicly available sources of information. The documents are filled with juicy details on corruption cases which make for highly entertaining reading. Yet one wonders whether we can trust all the details concerning collusive corruption contained in such documents. China ranks poorly in terms of rule of law and press freedom internationally (in 2016, the Reporters Without Borders World Press Freedom Index ranks China 176 out of 180 countries, and the World Justice Project Rule of Law Index ranks China 80 out of 113 countries). Could political motivations have compromised the accuracy of some of the reporting? Since one of the supposed benefits of the author's approach is to shed light on the micro-level dynamics of elite collusion it is important that we can put a high level of trust in details revealed in the documents. Pei devotes a section to the discussion of methodological challenges, but, apart from briefly mentioning that his cases have been covered in official media and "highly respected publications" (p. 14), does not address the trustworthiness of the documents on which he bases his analysis.

This is a minor issue in an otherwise outstanding work. *China's Crony Capitalism* is a must-read for anyone who wishes to understand the micro-level dynamics behind China's economic model and the potential impact of these on China's future political trajectory. It is a valuable contribution both to the China studies field and as a case study of crony capitalism.

Patrik Andersson
MSc in Asian Studies, Lund University

Email: patrikstig@gmail.com

Book Review

Sadan, Mandy (ed.). *War and Peace in the Borderlands of Myanmar*. NIAS Studies in Asian Topics 56. Copenhagen: NIAS - Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, 2016. 517 pp., ISBN: 978-87-7694189–5, (paperback).

This edited volume contains contributions by an impressive list of authors who have expertise on conflict issues in Myanmar. Mandy Sadan, the editor of this 517 page volume and a scholar renowned for her seminal work "Being and Becoming Kachin" (Sadan, 2013), has carefully woven together the narratives and analyses, which aim to elucidate the conflict involving the Kachin and several other ethnic minorities. The 20,000-strong armed group, the Kachin Independence Organisation (KIO), has fought for political autonomy since the early 1960s and conflict reignited in 2011 after a 17 year ceasefire broke down. The KIO has been opposing the ceasefire conditions offered by the military, and the Kachin people strongly endorse the KIO's position especially in the main urban areas (p. 4).

The book is based on a counterfactual question: What did and did not happen during the 1994-2011 ceasefire period that can explain the current state of the conflict between the KIO and the government and the position of the Kachin civilians? The book release is timely and relevant to understanding the root causes of conflict, including the previous military regime's policies, and politics among the Kachin and other minorities, which is referred to as ethnic politics in Myanmar. Local participants in and international observers of the Myanmar peace process would do well to study the experience of the past ceasefire, and this makes the book a must-read for scholars, policy makers, and practitioners working on Myanmar.

The contributors of the book have reached a common understanding of the ceasefire in Myanmar, a militarised status quo or *armed peace*. During the ceasefire movement in the 1990s, the junta government offered some local autonomy and development aid to ethnic areas in exchange for the insertion of central government authority into borderlands (p.100). The process involved various agents, including new army bases, government agencies and affiliated NGOs as well as business interests in extracting natural resources. Brang Seng, the then KIO chairman, had a new direction in mind and sought a legal status and recognition for KIO in the early 1990s, and his strategy to engage with the military junta was challenged by Kachin and other ethnic leaders (p. 66-7). The ceasefire agreement signed in 1994 between KIO and the government had created a space for civil society and raised hope for political solution, but had led to disillusionment after the junta's National Convention process failed to deliver any political solution (p. 87-8 & p. 342).

The staggering political process during the ceasefire period was a sign of the lack of serious commitment by the military to make political concession to the demands of ethnic minorities (p. 101). In the meantime the government imposed 'development' projects on the local population, which concurred with the co-optation of former rebels, displacing and dispossessing the civilian population, and encouraging an influx of migrant workers from central Myanmar (p. 118-9 & p.301). Such development policy in ceasefire areas has served as a counterinsurgency tactic; it relocates civilian population to be easily policed by the authority, which subsequently cuts the civilian ties to KIO (p.120-122; See also Woods, 2011). Opening up some of the former

KIO held areas also jeopardised the income source. For instance, the legalisation of timber businesses through the state-owned company has been utilised to suppress the financial gains of the KIO from the cross border timber trade (p.138-9). Abundant natural resources in Kachin State, such as jade, hydropower, timber, minerals, and agricultural land, were subjected to government-led development activities, which infuriated directly affected locals and led to the perception of foreignisation of Kachin spaces (p. 218). The natural resource extraction, or 'resource grabs', have been considered sources of injustice and suffering by the Kachins (p.218-221). One prominent case is the Myitsone dam project on the confluence of the Irrawaddy river by a Chinese state-owned company, which has been met with fierce opposition from the beginning of the process (p.125-6).

China is the most important investor and trade partner for Myanmar, and the China-Myanmar relationship has been influenced by the democratic liberalisation in Myanmar. China has adopted a proactive role in mediating the Kachin conflict by hosting rounds of peace negotiations in 2013 (ch. 6). In addition to economic and geopolitical factors, the co-ethnic network across the China-Myanmar border has influenced the position of China the Kachin conflict (ch. 7). The Kachins in Myanmar and China have maintained the vibrant local interactions through the cultural activities and exchanges since 1970s until today (p. 186-196). Since the resumption of the war, the Kachin elites in China urged the Chinese government to advocate their concerns over humanitarian violations on the border (p.171).

Cultural identity is closely connected to political identity and ideologies such as nationalism. One aspect of the hardening of Kachin nationalist rhetoric in recent years points to the collective and personal experiences of the ceasefire period (p. 205-6). The narratives entail the sense of national emergency, the perceived threat of ethnocide, divine predestination, and individuals' subscription to the narratives can be reinforced by personal experiences that reassure the evermore-presiding emergency (ch. 8). Some of the popular notions in the narratives contradict the realities of the complex pan-Kachin ethnicity and demographics (p. 211). The Kachin identity and aspiration can be observed in a visual form of narratives such as calendars (ch. 10).

These individual accounts present important aspects of the Kachin conflict, as the Kachin movement has been sustained by mass mobilisation and affected countless individuals (ch. 8, 9, 11, 12, & 13). For instance, some female KIO and KIA members revealed the ambivalent relationships to the organisation by expressing their personal plight in joining the organisation, and at the same time, their strong conviction to the Kachin cause (p. 249). An absence of a gendered consciousness in the past can be understood in the context of a patriarchal nationalism, whilst a greater gender consciousness has been emerging after the civil war resumed in 2011 (ch. 9).

The book includes biographical texts of important individuals. Nhkum Bu Lu describes her family relationship with the KIO, which caused various predicaments during the civil war, as did her being the wife of Mahkaw Hkun Sa who is a renown Kachin lawyer who became a political prisoner from 1991 to 1998 (ch. 11). Hkanhpa Tu Sadan recalls his time as a student at Yangon University in the mid-1990s and reflects upon the immediate effects of the ceasefire (ch. 12). Mahkaw Hkun Sa explains the political foundation of the Kachin diaspora movement and its relation to the KIO (ch. 13).

The book's title refers to the 'borderlands' of Myanmar, and this allows the authors to include other 'ethnicised' conflict in Ta'ang (ch. 14) and Karen (ch. 15) areas. The book also includes a cross-country comparison with similar conflicts in North-East India (ch. 16, 17). These illustrations show remarkable resemblance with the Kachin experience and provide important lessons for the future political dialogue and negotiation.

The edited volume is an excellent collective work reflecting rigorous efforts by the authors. The book

asserts the importance of understanding the historical context of ceasefire agreements in Kachin State, in order to improve the current fragile peace process. Research on Myanmar's ongoing peace conundrum will surely benefit from this volume.

Kyungmee Kim

PhD Candidate, Department of Peace and Conflict, Uppsala University

Email: Kyungmee.kim@pcr.uu.se

References:

Sadan, M. (2013). *Being and Becoming Kachin: Histories beyond the State in the Borderworlds of Burma.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Woods, Kevin (2011). Ceasefire Capitalism: Military–private Partnerships, Resource Concessions and Military–state Building in the Burma–China Borderlands. *Journal of Peasant Studies, 38*(4) pp.747-770.

Asia in Focus
A Nordic journal on Asia by early career researchers

Aims and scope

Asia in Focus is a biannual journal where Master's and Ph.D. students affiliated to a Nordic institution have the possibility to publish their findings in a widely accessible, transnational forum. The focal point of the journal is modern Asian societies, from Central Asia to Oceania but excluding Australia and New Zealand, from the perspective of the social sciences and humanities. We aim at a high academic level in a concise, focused and readable form. We publish academic essays, academic articles, and book reviews.

Submissions

- Submissions are warmly received all year round to asiainfocus@nias.ku.dk
- Include in your submission confirmation that you have obtained the right to quote interviewees, publish pictures, maps and such in a public open access journal.
- For any other enquiries, please email us at asiainfocus@nias.ku.dk

Preparing your paper

Before a paper can be published it must conform to the Asia in Focus style guide, which is summarised below. Please be sure to read and adhere to the rules of the comprehensive Asia in Focus Style Guide which can be found at www.asiainfocus.dk.

- The language of the journal is English.
- When submitting your article for publication, it must have been proofread by a native speaker of English.

- Text length: 3500 words (+/- 350 words), excluding photos, graphs and references.
- The paper should be prepared and submitted in MS-Word compatible software
- For references you should use APA style
- Do not include any endnotes or footnotes.
- Please state whether the submission should be considered an academic article or an essay.
- A concise abstract of no more than 200 words is required upon submission. Citing references in the abstract should be avoided.
- Provide a maximum of six keywords. The reader should get a strong impression of the main ideas discussed in your piece from this short list.
- Please include a short biography, including information about your affiliated institution, academic degree and your primary research interests.
- Please state whether or not we may publish your email address or other contact information.
- Think about the scope of the journal when you write your paper. Asia in Focus is multi-disciplinary with readers from different academic backgrounds. Thus, theoretical stances and arguments should be used carefully. The geographical/cultural focus of your article should always be introduced to the reader.